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What the Society has done in the past and is still doing, and the interests of the great cause which it represents, make it fitting that it should possess a building of its own, which would furnish not only a conspicuous and influential headquarters, but also a largely increased income, from rentals, for the strengthening and extension of its work according to the demands of the time. The increased income is now urgently needed.

It will require \$100,000 or more to secure and equip such a headquarters as is here contemplated; and the Directors confidently appeal to the friends of the movement in Boston and throughout the nation to furnish them with the means to enable them to secure a building which will be not only an honor to the cause, but a powerful agency in its further promotion.

#### **Subscription for Headquarters and Endowment of the American Peace Society.**

We, the undersigned, promise to pay to the said Society the sums set against our names respectively,

One-half in the year 1905

One-half in the year 1906

provided by gifts, pledges and legacies \$100,000 can be made up within two years from this date, April 24, 1905.

#### **Addresses at the Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society, May 18.**

##### **Address of Charles E. Adams of Lowell, President of the State Board of Trade.**

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* It is a pleasure to come into this peaceful atmosphere, freed from the commercial strife, the industrial warfare, and the professional contests incidental to everyday life. Being here necessarily stimulates a longing for those delightful conditions, you will remember, described by the author of "Daybreak," as existing upon the planet Mars, where the people had no trials nor tribulations, were not restricted by government, were one happy family, at peace with all the world outside, as well as with their own planet.

I presume you would not call it a piece of exaggeration if I should say that people on the planet Earth have not quite reached that altruistic state. Our ancestors had their Indian troubles, but they were bound to have peace, if they had to fight for it. I was recently reading an extract from the records of the old town of Chelmsford, Mass., as far back as 1671, where the selectmen ordered that every male person over fifteen years of age should bring to the meeting-house a club four or five feet in length, with a good large knob on the end, and leave the same at the meeting-house, for the purpose of preserving peace whenever the occasion required. I fear that this spirit has been inherited somewhat by their descendants, for we are creating armies and building battleships to use "whenever occasion requires!"

I am asked to say a few words to-night as to the work of the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, which is composed of forty-six commercial bodies representing the industrial and commercial interests of the State, regarding this peace movement. The subject was most forcibly brought to their attention about two years ago by a visit from Dr. Thomas Barclay, former Chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, and his description of what the business men of France and England had done in securing a treaty between those two countries when every other interest had failed—government, politicians, and administrative officials.

Representatives from the business organizations of those two countries met in Paris, to the number of about eight hundred, and they decided that an arbitration treaty should be agreed upon between the two governments. That convention dissolved, and those representatives of commercial bodies returned home, and in a very short time after the celebrated treaty between England and France was arranged, and to that convention, with its successful results, may be attributed much of the inspiration of our business men to-day, as it placed the matter before them in a practical light.

The Massachusetts Board of Trade had resolutions introduced into Congress asking that negotiations be reopened for treaties between the great countries of the United States and Great Britain, and hundreds of similar resolutions were presented from various parts of the country. The result you know, Mr. Chairman—not an absolute failure, but disappointment, we think, to the business men of the country, as well as to all others interested in the peace movement. But, as you suggested, it has been a step in the right direction; and we hope the powers that be will arrange something in that direction in the near future that will be satisfactory and greatly advance the cause.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, whom we all respect and admire, introduced a resolution which was unanimously carried through the State Board of Trade regarding neutral commercial zones on the Atlantic. It appears, in the judgment of the commercial and industrial interests of the State, that it would be wise if a treaty were arranged whereby neutral zones between the ports of North America, Great Britain and Ireland and the continent of Europe, should be established, and that within those zones steamships and sailing vessels should be permitted to pass and repass at all times without fear of seizure or interruption, whatever the existing condition might be between the nations of the world. No new principle was involved in the proposition, for in 1817 the same principle was applied on the Great Lakes and waterways down the St. Lawrence River to the ocean, between the United States and Canada. The result of that action seems to have proved one of great economy, for the treaty made possible that very little garrison work should be required by the two countries, thus saving an immense expense. The Suez Canal, in the in-

terests of trade and commerce, is also neutralized; military Europe has neutralized Switzerland, Belgium, and the Duchy of Luxemburg, so that this proposition, if carried out, will much advance the peace movement, as well as protect commercial intercourse, should war break out between nations.

It is pretty difficult to state just how far the business men of the country can assist this movement. It is recognized that commercial bodies as a rule are organized for the purpose of assisting trade and commerce more than they are for the consideration of sentimental propositions. But when the statistics are given, — and I have no doubt they are practically true, — that forty million lives were sacrificed and one hundred and fifty billions of dollars were expended in the engineering of warfare during the nineteenth century, it is no longer to be wondered at that the business community are beginning to awaken to the fact that this money should be turned into a different channel. All history records that war is an injury to trade and commerce, and that peace makes commerce thrive; and for this reason business men are interested in the success of this movement, and will coöperate with such societies as that represented here to-night to make this peace cause their own.

Resolutions may be passed by this society and by commercial bodies and similar organizations from now to the next century, without accomplishing any good result, unless they are followed by persistent and aggregated effort.

A movement was initiated a few years ago by the commercial bodies of Massachusetts to create a national business department at Washington, and it was over fourteen years before the Department of Labor and Commerce was a reality. That means that we had to knock at the doors of Congress every year for fourteen years with all the influence that we had at our command in order to create that great Department. And that will be the case in the matter of arbitration treaties, though perhaps not so much so, because they are gradually becoming a great factor in the administering of public affairs in all countries.

But there is an element on which I place fully as much dependence as upon the business community, or any other influence that we know anything about, for this cause, and that is the women of the world. [Applause.] They are persistent, they are sentimental, and they are enthusiastic, and when they commence in any lines of reform, my observation has shown that they never halt till they have accomplished the desired result.

But I can assure you, Mr. President, that the Massachusetts State Board of Trade, through its commercial bodies and membership, will heartily coöperate with your organization in carrying on the good work, although we may not be able to give attention to the details as this Society can, organized as it is practically for this work. And let me say in regard to the proposed neutral zones, which I think are to be an important consideration in the movement, that the State Board of Trade forwarded the neutral zone resolutions to Congress, and with the approval of this Society has sent its circulars all over this country, and forwarded large numbers of them to England, France and Germany, and have asked the commercial bodies of those countries to join with us in what

we believe will prove to be a powerful wedge in accomplishing the results that we all desire.

**Address of Hon. George H. Martin, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education.**

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* The suggestion of calling upon the children of the State to unite in the celebration of this anniversary, the 18th of May, came to me from Mrs. Mead and Mr. Trueblood. It was my very great privilege and pleasure to follow the suggestion, and to do what I could to introduce the subject to the thought of the school people of the State. And in doing that I was helped also by some other people who began their work a long time ago. When the proposition came to me I wondered just how I could do it without seeming to be officious, and yet do it officially. It occurred to me that in an old school law made more than a hundred years ago there was a very interesting collocation of virtues prescribed for all instructors of youth, beginning with the president of Harvard college down through the college professors and preceptors of academies to all other teachers. They were required to use their best endeavors to instill into the minds of the children and youth committed to their care among other virtues these three: "love of country, humanity and universal benevolence." There I saw my opportunity. The schools had for years required by local rules to develop the love of country by special exercises on Washington's birthday, the 19th of April and Memorial Day. I saw at once that those other two virtues which the fathers had placed by the side of love of country — humanity and universal benevolence — were the very ones which were to be commemorated on this day. And so it was purely an official act to invite the school people of the State to do what they had been all their lives under legal obligation to do. I had simply to call attention to an old law, and to ask them to obey it.

And they have accepted the suggestion with very great unanimity, and Dr. Trueblood has been almost overwhelmed with applications for peace literature to be used in the schools. So that the movement which this society has begun has been growing auspiciously and is likely to continue and spread. The superintendent of public instruction in Ohio prepared a circular similar to ours and sent it over that State. So a beginning has been made. We see that this is the place to begin. Any movement that touches humanity so deeply must get into the minds of children. We must expect that the development of this peace idea will be slow because as soon as we begin we find ourselves pretty closely in contact with some of the most elemental instincts of humanity.

I picked up a paper from Michigan that told of two little girls. A mother discovered her own little girl in rather forcible combat with another. She took her beside her knee and began to talk to her in regard to it, telling her how wrong it was, and said, "Satan must have put that thought into your heart." The little girl said, "Well, perhaps he told me about pulling her hair, but I thought about kicking her shins all by myself!"

So we are in contact, as I say, with some very elemental instincts when we teach peace in the public schools.

When we come really to talk about peace and war, with the idea of instilling fundamental principles, we shall need to remember, in connection with all educational work, that there are evils of peace as well as evils of war. "Peace hath her victories." Peace hath her crimes no less disastrous than those of war. We say war lets loose all the passions of men. True. So may peace. The opportunity and the immunity that war may bring, money can buy in times of peace — and does. That Rome that Milton described in the "Hymn to the Nativity," that time when

"No war or battle's sound  
Was heard the world around;  
The idle spear and shield were high up hung;  
The hooked chariot stood  
Unstain'd with hostile blood;  
The trumpet spake not to the armèd throng;"

— that was the very Rome that Juvenal described in his satires and Paul in his first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans — the same Rome at peace. There are evils of peace. And so, when I came to study this old school law I saw how wise the men who made it were. They grouped about these virtues of which I have spoken certain others. A remarkable body of men composed the Massachusetts Legislature of 1789, the first General Court that assembled after the establishment of the Constitution of the United States. John Hancock was Governor of the Commonwealth, Samuel Adams, Lieutenant-Governor. In the House of Representatives were two men who afterward became governors, Christopher Gore and William Eustis. In the House also was Benjamin Lincoln, Major-General, Washington's familiar friend and associate through the Revolution. General Glover of Marblehead was there, and there were fifty men with the title captain, major, or colonel — how many lower officers I do not know. But there was a body of men who had fought through the whole series of battles of the Revolution, and had personally participated in all the events which are associated with the establishment of the government of Massachusetts and of the United States. Now, when they came to formulate a school law in which, as they said, there should be placed foundation principles (the phrase that they used was "basis of republican constitution"), we might have supposed, I think, that they would have emphasized love of country more than anything else. If we had asked John Hancock what were the conditions of good citizenship, we might suppose he would have said: recognition of the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, the inalienable rights of man; that Sam Adams would have named as the fundamental principle local government embodied in the New England town meeting; the younger John Winthrop in the same House might have said: those fundamental principles of religious liberty for which his great ancestor emigrated to this country. We might have supposed that Lincoln and Glover and the rest would have said that the foundation of this republic lay in the local militia of trained men ready to spring at the call of the country in time of struggle and stress. But none of those men, nor all of them together, said any such thing. They said this — and this is the significant part of it, it seems to me, the line along which any education in the interest of local or universal peace must lie — they said this: they

named twelve virtues, among which were love of country, humanity and universal benevolence. They buttressed those three around with these others: piety, justice, and a sacred regard for truth, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance. These, they say, are the "basis of a republican constitution," principles upon which any free government must rest. And so, it seems to me, while we are teaching these young people love of country, and humanity, and universal benevolence, it is only as we are grounding them in these fundamental principles of private and civic morals that we are giving them that which will ultimately fit them best to maintain these higher principles. It seems to me that when in all our schools all our teachers are fulfilling these injunctions of the fathers to instill into the minds of the children all these virtues, patriotism will be more than militarism, and peace will be peace with honor. Then, and then only, every day will be a patriot's day, and every day will be a peace day. [Applause.]

**Address of Rev. Francis H. Rowley, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Boston.**

*Mr. President and Dear Friends,* — I am not here to-night because I had the faintest idea I could make even a brief speech worthy of this occasion. I am here because our honored Secretary could not find the right man. He appealed to me in his extremity, and I answered the appeal. I can say with all sincerity that I would rather not speak. The less some men say, the better for their reputations. But I felt that if men had been willing to fight and bleed and die in the name of war, I ought to be willing to sacrifice what little reputation I have, and even inflict myself upon you, in the holy name of peace.

I have tried a good many times to discover why I am a lover of peace and a hater of war. I have sometimes thought it was because I am a coward. I would run away any time that I might "live to fight another day." I have sometimes thought it was due to my Quaker ancestry, something of which I grow prouder as I grow older. I have even dared hope it might be because I had caught just a little of the spirit of Him we call the Prince of Peace. Mr. Morley says, in his life of Gladstone, that "active hatred of cruelty, injustice and oppression is perhaps the main difference between a good man and a bad man." By that test I know where some of you stand to-night.

In the ninth chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, in that vision of the princely seer of Israel of the time when the people who sit in darkness shall see a great light, and when the yoke of their burden and the rod of their oppressor are broken, there occurs a very strange verse that seems out of all harmony with the peaceful scene that evidently rises before the prophet's eye. It reads: "For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and with fuel of fire!" But turn to the revision, and you see at once how the verse falls into the most beautiful harmony with that day toward which the prophet looks, for then you read: "For all the armor of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood shall even be for burning, and for fuel of fire." [Applause.]

Of course it was only a dream, an inspired dream, if

you will, but one of those dreams that, though it take a thousand centuries, has got to come true, because at the heart of our universe there lives and reigns the Eternal Righteousness and the Eternal Goodness.

If I know anything about it, the best work ever done in this world has been done by men of faith, by men inspired by high ideals, who have believed in those ideals, no matter how far away their fulfillment seemed. John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips lived by faith. "They endured as seeing Him who is invisible." All three of them might have died before their dream had come true, and all three had died knowing they stood on the winning side. Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children," the Earl of Shaftesbury's plea for the oppressed in mine and city were cries "in the night," but they were calls to that day that had to dawn since "God's in his heaven." This Society that meets here to-night while the most awful war of history is "staining the world incarnadine" was never surer of the ultimate triumph of its cause than it is now! The whole progress of our humanity is away from the "ape and tiger," away from "Nature, red in tooth and claw," and up to the stature of the perfect man. This frightful relapse into savagery and animalism is a startling warning that the world has got to heed. Sometimes a look into the very depths whither we have fallen becomes our sublimest inspiration to turn about and begin again the upward climb. It has seemed to me as if God were saying to the nations of the earth, ever putting their trust in mightier armaments and outrivaling each other in the accumulation of instruments of destruction: "This is war as you have made it, always devilish, now more Satanic than ever. Keep on inventing and manufacturing your great death-machines, and war will mean soon to any two of you, equally matched, nothing less than mutual annihilation, a gigantic duel with both combatants dead at last upon the field."

One of the saddest things to me in this war—one of the most pathetic things, perhaps I should say—was the death of that great Russian artist and enemy of war, the famous Veretschagin, who went down, you remember, on the ill-fated battleship at Port Arthur. He did not belong to that school of painters whose battlefields give you only the splendid trappings, the glittering pomp and the seeming glory of war. The battlefield he put upon the canvas was as realistic as any novel that Zola ever wrote. You see all the carnage, all the inhumanity, all the barbarism, all the cruelty of it. Do you recall his "Apotheosis of War," dedicated "To all Conquerors, past, present and future"? What did he put on the canvas? A pyramide of human skulls, with a flock of carrion-crows perched on its summit! Do you remember his painting "Left Behind"? Lying on the edge of the desert is a forsaken and dying soldier, forgotten by his comrades, who have marched on and passed from sight. The great sun is going down in the background behind the silent hills, while the birds of prey are already circling around the lonely victims' head.

I remember two pictures in the Peace and War Museum in Lucerne, that fixed themselves very distinctly on my memory two years ago. Some of you will recall them. I think they are entitled "Peace" and "War." They were both of the same landscape. In

the one the cattle and the flocks were feeding in the quiet meadows, and the harvesters were gathering the ripened grain, and here and there all over the landscape the smoke from peaceful cottages rose into the air; everything spoke of calm, peace, joy, prosperity. And then the same landscape—no cattle feeding in the field, the ripened grain trampled into the blood-stained soil, the cottages destroyed, wounded and dying men stretched everywhere before your eyes! War, with all its wreck and ruin and horror, had changed a scene that the good God must have looked down upon with gladness into one that the very devils in hell might gloat over!

"Let the world have peace five hundred years," said Theodore Parker once, "and the aristocracy of blood will have gone; the aristocracy of gold will have come and gone; that of talent will have come and gone; and the aristocracy of goodness, which is the democracy of man, the government of all and for all and by all, will be the power which is." [Applause.]

If there is one word that I would leave as my contribution to the thought of this hour, it is the word of faith in the ultimate triumph of this cause we love. It seems to many a man but the dream of an idealist. We are told over and over again that it is an impossibility in any such world as you and I know. But it is coming—it must come—with the coming of that perhaps "far-off" but

"divine event  
To which the whole creation moves."

Then —

"Fear not to build thine eyrie in the heights  
Where golden splendors play;  
And trust thyself unto thine inmost soul,  
In simple faith alway;  
For God will make divinely real  
The highest forms of thine ideal!"

[Applause.]

#### Address of Elwyn G. Preston, Secretary of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:* It seems an intrusion, after the beautiful address to which you have just listened, for me to say even a word, and my impulse was to strike for the door or rise in protest when Mr. Paine started to introduce me. Since I was invited to come here I have found my time so unexpectedly absorbed that the only way in which I felt it possible for me to join in these exercises was to commit my thoughts to paper and present them in that form. But I realize the futility of my doing that now, and I therefore propose to abandon what I would have liked to say and content myself with a few observations suggested by this occasion.

I accepted the invitation to speak to-night because it gave me an opportunity to utter a word of protest against what I believe to be a misconception respecting the attitude of business men toward this great question. So surprising is it to many people that commercial interests should array themselves solidly behind a great moral idea, that they seek an explanation in harmony with their preconception as to the nature and attitude of mind of the average business man, and consequently it has been assumed in this country, as also in England and France, where the business men have taken an advanced position upon this matter, that it was because

they recognized that war means interruption to trade, consequently interruption to the stream of dollars flowing into rapacious and capacious pockets, that it spells depression in business and loss of profits, and that consequently the voice of the business man is heard in the land where before was only the call to duty from the lips of the preacher. Now it is not enough, in explanation of the attitude in recent years of the business men, to call attention to the work of Dr. Barclay or President Paine or Dr. Trueblood or Mr. Mead, important as their work of propaganda has been. The reason lies deeper than that, deeper than the material interests which the business men have in uninterrupted trade. To be sure, the growth of sentiment in this country has come coincidentally with a vast increase in our foreign trade, an increase so great as to amaze and dismay our competitors.

Yet, notwithstanding all that, I assert that the attitude of business men in opposition to war as a means of settlement of international disputes is not determined wholly or even largely by sordid considerations. It has been my good fortune to have a slight opportunity during the past ten or fifteen years to see below the surface of things somewhat, and get what I believe to be a truer idea of the average business man, and therefore it is my conviction that the business men have become interested in this question mainly because of a deep and real sense of the essential brotherhood of man, and that sense has come to them by means of this very commercial intercourse between nations. It has been borne into the consciousness of our business men by these means that the German whom he meets in China, the Frenchman whom he finds in the countries of the Mediterranean and the Nile, the Englishman who, side by side with us, enters the solitudes of Africa or the virgin markets of South America, are brethren, engaged in peaceful pursuits, not restless for conquest or seeking another's injury. [Applause.]

Commerce has roused the moral sense of the business community against this moral wrong. And there has arisen in this country, as there has arisen in France and England and to some extent in Germany, a wave of protest by the business men against their countries being involved in wicked and cruel and wasteful war. And so the word I intended to bring to-night, — and I was despoiled of my opportunity by the brilliancy of the speakers who have preceded me, — the word I intended to bring was that, as we are congratulating ourselves on the spread of peace sentiment among all classes of people in this country and in foreign lands, let us not do the business men the injustice of believing that their interest in this cause, which I believe to be the greatest cause that has commanded the attention of the world in my generation at least, is due to sordid motives. Let us rather do them the honor of believing that they are unselfish advocates of a higher law than the law of brute force in the settlement of disputes, whether international or otherwise. It is to this recognition I believe they are entitled. [Applause.]

The revised notes of the address of Ex-Governor Bates have not been received in time for insertion in this issue.

## The Arrest and Reduction of Armaments an Urgent Necessity.

*Address of Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant in the French Senate on the 11th of April, when the Navy Budget was under consideration.*

*Gentlemen:* We heartily applauded the eloquent discourse of the President of the Council at the opening of the discussion on the budget.

No one better than he could have rendered just homage to the work of regeneration which has within the last thirty-five years redeemed France from her disasters and repaired so many mistakes of the past. But the more admirable this work has been, the more it is our duty to watch lest it be compromised. The general reporter on the budget will himself also have performed a great service if he applies himself once more with his extraordinary ardor to its defense. The gloomy picture which he has drawn of our actual financial situation and of the dangers of the future ought thoroughly to arouse public opinion. It merits as large publicity as possible, for it is wise. Mr. Antonin Dubost evidently had this in mind, for he wrote: "The country, the parliament, the government itself, is ignorant of the true state of our finances."

This ignorance each one of us ought to try to dissipate according to the measure of his strength, not underestimating the amelioration already accomplished by the government in recent years, but rather seeking to make them greater. This is what I propose to do as to what concerns our naval expenses, the increase of which I am about candidly to oppose.

I leave aside the question of finding out whether or not our credits are being properly used, and whether our administration of the marine, as well as that of other countries, will ever find a solution of the problem of constantly modifying itself with its colossal material, in the midst of the controversies with which we are familiar, and following the daily discoveries of international science. Others more competent than I have tried to distribute responsibility between men and circumstances. I shall keep myself, without party spirit, as far as possible from criticism of individuals or of ministers, upon ground common to us all, the ground of the national defense.

There is not a single member of parliament, in France or elsewhere, who does not desire above all things to assure the national independence, the moral and material security of the country. There is no one who does not understand that without that security labor, internal prosperity, proper foreign relations, even progress itself, are all impossible, and that peace would be only a name, or rather a lie, a temptation offered to injustice and violence, to those eternal enemies which President Roosevelt has recently termed the "powers of evil."

How are we to bring about this security? That is the whole question. I will speak of nothing else.

Will it be by the adoption of a naval, military and colonial program? That goes without saying. We shall never have too much method and organization in that class of affairs. Our three armies, on land, sea and in the colonies, ought to have a single budget, and to be controlled by a homogeneous administration, dictated by our economic and financial situation, and by our relations